

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-07 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 EB-07 FEAЕ-00 OMB-01 ERDA-05

OES-06 /099 W

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R 211443Z JUL 76

FM USMISSION USBERLIN

TO AMEMBASSY BONN

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 2823

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO

USEC BRUSSELS 1290

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USBERLIN 1505

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PFOR, WB, GW, UR, EC

SUBJECT: INITIAL SOVIET REACTION TO BERLIN PARTICIPATION IN
EC PARLIAMENT

REFS: A) USBERLIN 1463, B) USBERLIN 1458, C) USBERLIN 1472

1. SUMMARY: SOVIETS HAVE BEGUN SENDING SIGNALS THAT
THEY WILL OBJECT TO ALLIED DECISION TO PERMIT CONTINUED
BERLIN PARTICIPATION IN DIRECTLY ELECTED EUROPEAN
PARLIAMENT. IT IS STILL TOO EARLY TO JUDGE HOW STRONG
THIS OBJECTION WILL BE AND IN PARTICULAR WHETHER IT
WILL GO BEYOND WORDS, BUT SOVIET EMBASSY COUNSELLOR
HAS TOLD BRITISH POLAD THAT HE BELIEVES MOSCOW REGARES
ISSUE AS MORE IMPORTANT THAN FEDERAL ENVIRONMENTAL
OFFICE. WE SUGGEST FOR EMBASSY
CONSIDERATION THAT ALLIES MIGHT MAKE SOMETHING OF A
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PREEMPTIVE DEMARCHE TO SOVIETS AT CHAIRMAN PLAD

LEVEL WHEN WE TAKE STEPS FORMALLY TO AUTHORIZE INDIRECT
ELECTION OF BERLIN REPRESENTATIVES TO NEW PARLIAMENT
IN ORDER TO EMPHASIZE TO SOVIETS THAT WE WISH NO
TROUBLE, HAVE ONLY DONE MINIMUM NECESSARY TO
PRESERVE BASIC STATUS QUO, BUT WILL NOT BE PREPARED
TO BACK AWAY FROM MODERATE POSITION WE HAVE ADOPTED.
END SUMMARY.

2. REF A REPORTED BASTILLE DAY RECEPTION COMMENT
OF SOVIET EMBASSY OFFICER CONCERNED WITH EST BERLIN
AFFAIRS TO POLAD THAT SOVIETS COULD ACCEPT CONTINUED
ECONOMIC COOPERATION OF BERLIN WITH EC BUT
PARTICIPATION BY CITY IN COMMUNITY'S POLITICAL
PROCESSES SUCH AS A DIRECTLY ELECTED PARLIAMENT
WOULD CREATE PROBLEMS. DURING CALL BY CHAIRMAN
POLAD (UK) ON OTHER BUSINESS JULY 16, SOVIET EMBASSY
COUNSELLOR KHOTUOEV EXPOUNDED ON EC PARLIAMENT
QUESTION AT SOME LENGTH NOTING THAT HE REGRETTED
REPORTS HE HAD SEEN IN PRESS TO EFFECT THAT ALLIES
WERE PREPARED TO PERMIT INDIRECTLY SELCTED BERLIN
REPRESENTATIVES TO CONTINUE IN EC
PARLIAMENT AFTER REST OF THAT BODY WAS DIRECTLY
ELECTIED IN 1978. BRITISH POLAD SAID HE HAD EXPECTED
HOTULEV TO BE PLEASED SINCE PRESS HAD INDICATED
THAT ALLIES HAD RULED OUT DIRECT ELECTION OF BERLIN
DEPUTIES. HOTULEV SAID ALLIED POSITION WAS GOOD
AS FAR AS IT WENT BUT THAT HE FORESAW GRAVE TROUBLE
FOR ALL CONCERNED IF CITY'S REPS WERE ALLOWED
FULL VOTING RIGHTS IN PARLIAMENT. THIS, HE CLAIMED,
WAS EXPRESS FORBIDDEN BY QA. BRITISH POLAD ARGUED
THAT QA DEALT WITH BERLIN-FRG RELATIONSHIP AND SAID
NOTHING ABOUT DEVELOPMENT OF CITY'S RELATIONSHIP
WITH EAOPA AS A WHOLE. KHOTULEV DESCRIBED EC AS
"CLOSED BLOC OPPOSED TO SOVET UNION". AT PRESENT,
HE SAID, THIS BLOC DEALTT ONLY WITH TRADE AND
ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, WHICH WAS BAD ENOUGH, BUT IT WOULD
BE INTOLERABLE IF BERLIN WERE ONE DAY TO BE ALLOWDD
TO PARTICIPTE IN POLITICAL DECISIONS AFFECTING
EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND CITY'S OWN STATUS. KHOTULEV
RAISED SPECTER OF EC DECIDING TO STATION NUCLEAR
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WEAPONS IN BELIN TO WHICH BRITISH POLAD REPLIED
THAT ALLIES WOULD OF COURSE CONTINUE TO TAKE GREATEST
CARE TO ENSURE THAT NO DECISIONS OF EC PARLIAMENT
COULD AFFECT BERLIN'S STATUS AND THAT SOVIETS WERE
CONCERNING THEMSELVES NEEDLESSLY. KHOTULEV REFUSED TO
BE MOLLIFIED, HOWEVER, AND RAISED EUROPEAN PASSPORT
PROPOSAL WHICH HE SAID WOULD ALSO BE CONTRARY TO QA.
BRITISH POLAD DENIED THAT QA PROHIBITED USE OF

SUCH A PASSPORT, AND KHOTULEV, WHILE TACITLY
ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THERE WAS NO SPECIFIC PROHIBITION
IN QA, SAID IT WOULD REPRESENT UNILATERAL HANGE
IN EXISTING SITUATION. BRITISH POLAD SUGGESTED THAT
IN ALLIED VIEW QA CONFIRMED THAT SITUATION IN
CITY WAS NOT FROZEN FOREVER BUT COULD DEVELOP
NATURALLY. KHOTULEV AGREED THAT SITUATION COULD
NOT REMAIN STATIC BUT CLAIMED THERE WAS NEED TO
CONSIDER BALANCE OF ADVANTAGES. SOVIETS HAD, IN
HIS VIEW, PAID HIGH PRICE FOR QA. WHILE EMPHASIZING
THAT HE WAS SPEAKING PERSONALLY, KHOTULEV CONCLUDED
CONVERSATION BY SAYING THAT HE FEARED HIS GOVERNMENT
WOULD TAKE SIMILAR VIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS AND THAT
EC PARLIAMENT ISSUE WAS OF MUCH GREATER IMPORTANCE
THAN, FOR EXAMPLE, LOCATION OF FEDERL ENVIRONMENTAL
OFFICE IN BERLIN HAD BEEN IN 1974.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USBERLIN 1505

3. WE HAVE SEEN GERMAN WIRE SERVICE REPORT JULY 19

OF COMMENTARY BY SOVIET GERMAN LANGUAGE RADIO
STATION " PEACE AND PROGRESS" WHICH APPEARS TO REFLECT
SOME OF KHOTULEV'S THEMES. WHILE CONCEDING THAT
BERLIN DEPUTIES TO EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT WOULD NOT BE
ELECTED DIRECTLY, STATION CLAIMED THAT IT WOULD BE
INCONSISTENT WITH LEGAL AND POLITICAL STATUS OF CITY
FOR BERLIN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO SEND DEPUTIES
TO STRASBOURG, PARTICULARLY AS PART OF FRG DELEGATION.
COMMENTATOR CHARGED THAT UK AKD FRANCE, BOTH
SIGNATORIES TO QA, HAD DISREGARDED AND VIOLATED QA
BY VOTING IN BRUSSELS TO PERMIT BERLIN REPRESENTATION
AND SAID THAT THIS WAS " A SERIOUS BUSINESS WITH
DANGER OF EXPLOSION" WHICH WOULD NOT REMAIN WITHOUT
CONSEQUENCES.

4. COMMENT: IT IS PREMATURE TO VENTURE GUESS AS
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TO HOW FROMALLY SOVIETS WILL EXPRESS THEIR UNHAPPINESS
AND HOW FAR THEY MIGHT BE WILLING TO GO TO ATTEMPT
TO REVERSE ALLIED DECISION. THEY HAVE IN PAST, FOR
EXAMPLE IN CONNECTION WITH ESTABLISHMENT HERE OF
EC VOCATIONAL CENTER IN 1975, EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT
" SLIPPERY SLOPE" WHEREBY CITY'S RELATIONSHIP TO EC
WOULD BE SUBTLY CHANGED BY SERIES OF STEPS, EACH
SMALL IN ITSELF, WHICH WOULD LEAVE SOVIETS
FACING POLITICAL FAIT ACCOMPLI AT SOME FUTURE DATE.
THEY MAY BE TEMPTED, BY MINIMIZING SIGNIFICANCE OF
ALLIED DECISION NOT TO PERMIT DIRECT ELECTION OF
BERLIN DEPUTIES TO NEW PARLIAMENT AND FOCUSING ON
CONTINUED VOTING RIGHTS OF THOSE DEPUTIES AND
POSSIBILITY THAT EC PARLIAMENT WILL EVENTUALLY
ACHIEVE REAL POLTIICAL POWERS, TO TRY TO FORCE
ALLIES TO DRAW FIRM LINE NOW BEYOND WHICH WE WOULD
NOT ALLOW BERLIN TO PARTICIPATE IN SLOW PROCESS OF
EC POLITICAL INTEGRATION. IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT
THEY WILL WISH TO POKE AND PROBE A BIT IN ORDER TO
DETERMINE HOW FIRM ALLIES ARE ON PRESENT DECISION
BEFORE THEY PUT THEIR CARDS ON TABLE.

5. IT OCCURS TO US, THEREFORE, THAT THERE MIGHT BE
ADVANTAGE IN ALLIES TAKING INITIATIVE BEFORE SOVIETS
FORMALIZE THEIR POSITION TO EXPLAIN THAT WE CONSIDER
THAT WE HAVE TAKEN A REALISTIC MINIMUM POSITION
TO MAINTAIN STATUS QUO WITH RESPECT TO BERLIN
PARTICIPATION IN NEW PARLIAMENT. OCCASION TO DO THIS
MIGHTBE WHEN ALLIES ISSUE BK/L OR BK/O FORMALLY
AUTHORIZIGN EC CONVENTION OR COUNCIL REGULATION ON
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS TO BE APPLIED TO CITY. USEC
BRUSSELS 7187 INDICATES THAT SPECIAL COUNCIL SESSION

MAY DECIDE JULY 27 WHETHER HEADS OF STATE DECISION
ON DIRECT ELECTIONS IS TO BE GIVEN LEGAL FORM BY
COUNCIL REGULATION OR BY INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION
AMENDING TREATY OF ROME. AS SUGGESTED REF C, IF
DECISION IS FOR COUNCIL REGULATION WE MIGHT NEED
TO ISSUE ALLIED BK/L OR BK/O RATHER SOON, PERHAPS
WITHIN FEW WEEKS. CONVENTION WOULD PROBABLY BE
SOMewhat SLOWER, AND ALLIED DOCUMENT WOULD PROBABLY
NOT NEED TO BE ISSUED FOR SEVERAL MONTHS. WE
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WOULD APPRECIATE ANY VIEWS USEC MAY HAVE ON LIKELY
TIMETABLE UNDER TWO ALTERNATIVES.) ON OTHER HAND
THERE ARE NO PRESENT PLANS FOR POWER OF EUROPEAN
PARLIAMENT FORMALLY TO BE INCREASED.

6. WHEN ALLIED BK/L OR BK/O IS READY FOR ISSUANCE,
WE SUGGEST THAT ALLIES NOT GIVE IT TO SIVETS BUT
HAVE CHAIRMAN POLAD EXPLAIN WHAT IS IN IT, PARTICULARLY
FROMAL RESERVATION OF ALLIED RIGHTS AND RESPON-
SIBILITIES AND REQUIREMENT THAT BERLIN DEPUTIES BE
SELECTED NOT BY VOTERS BUT BY BERLIN HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES. THIS WOULD DEMONSTRATE THAT ALLIES
HAD NOT MADE FAR-REACHING DECISION ABOUT WHAT
RELATIONSHIP CITY MIGHT OR MIGHT NOT BE ABLE TO HAVE
TO EC AT SOME LATER STAGES OF EC POLITICAL DEVELOP-
MENT, FOR EXAMPLE AT SUCH TIME AS PARLIAMENT MIGHT
OBTAIN REAL POWER TO TAKE BINDING DECISION FOR
COMMUNITY. SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD PROBABLY NOT
BE EFFECTIVE IF SOVIETS HAD ALREADY DECIDED TO FORCE
CONFRONTATION ON LARGER ISSUES OF BERLIN'S TIES TO
EC. HOPEFULLY, HOWEVER, SOVIETS WOULD STILL BE IN
PROCESS OF SORTING OUT THEIR POLICY AND THEY WOULD
BOTH WELCOME APPROACH AS COURTESY AND ALSO READ IT
AS SIGNAL THAT, WHILE WE DID NOT CONSIDER THAT
STAKES WERE AS HIGH ON THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE AS
SOVIETS MIGHT OTHERWISE THINK, WE WOULD BE ALL THE
LESS LIKELY TO BACK AWAY FROM WHAT WE REGARDED AS A
MODERATE POSITION.

7. WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN EMBASSY REACTION TO
POSSIBILITY OF ALLIES ADVISING SOVIETS AT CHAIRMAN
POLAD LEVEL OF OUR BK/L OR BK/O WHEN THAT DOCUMENT
IS READY FOR ISSUANCE IN ORDER TO ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE
DEVELOPMENT OF FORMAL SOVIET POSITION.

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